

EXPERT REPORT OF RONALD KEITH GADDIE, Ph.D.

Submitted in
Baldus, et al., v. Brennan, et al. 2:2011cv00562 (E. D. Wisc.)
December 13 2011



1. My name is Ronald Keith Gaddie. I reside at 3801 Chamberlyne Way, Norman, Oklahoma, 73072. I have been retained as an expert to provide analysis of the Wisconsin Assembly and Senate districts by counsel for the members of the Wisconsin Government Accountability Board and its executive director. I am being compensated at a rate of \$300.00 per hour. I am a tenured professor of political science at the University of Oklahoma. I teach courses on electoral politics, research methods, and southern politics at the undergraduate and graduate level. I am also the general editor (with Kelly Damphousse) of the journal *Social Science Quarterly*. I am the author or coauthor of several books, journal articles, law review articles, and book chapters and papers on aspects of elections, including most recently *The Triumph of Voting Rights in the South*. In the last decade I have worked on redistricting cases in several states, and I provided previous expert testimony on voting rights, redistricting, and statistical issues. I have also testified in trials or provided expertise to defendants, plaintiffs, intervenors, and jurisdictions in California, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, New Mexico, New York, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas, Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming, and appeared as an expert witness before committees of the U.S. House, the U.S. Senate, and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Since 2008 I have testified in person or via affidavit in *Lepak v. City of Irving* 3:10-cv-00277 (N.D. Tex.); *Egolf, et al. v. Duran, et al* D-101-CV-2011-02942 (1st Jud. Dist. N.M.); and *Fletcher v. Lamone*, No. 8:11-CV-03220 (D. Md.). A complete list of my cases and retentions appears along with my academic background and list of publications in my attached vita (Exhibit A).

Signature:



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2. This report describes: equal population treatment; racial fairness and treatment of minority majority districts; delayed voting effects; treatment of political subdivisions (counties and municipalities); compactness; core constituency retention; pairing of incumbents in the Assembly and Senate districts in Act 43 of the Wisconsin Legislature; and the general features of Act 44, the U.S. Congressional district map for the state of Wisconsin.

3. Equal population treatment

The "One-Person, One-Vote" criterion looms largest in the redistricting literature and case law. The standard, initially advanced in the *Baker v. Carr* and later given name in *Gray v. Sanders*, started the reapportionment revolution. Wisconsin's 1992 and 2002 state legislative maps were crafted by the federal court. The most recent map is a legislative product. Tables 1 and 2 show

population deviation data for Assembly and Senate maps, respectively, since 1992.

The 1992 Assembly plan met a 1% standard ($\pm 0.5\%$) with an overall range of deviation of 0.91 percent, with 48 districts below the ideal and 51 above the ideal. Only one district was more than a half point away from the ideal. In the Senate, the 1992 plan had an overall deviation range 0.52% with 15 districts above the ideal population and 18 below the ideal. The 2002 Federal court map had an overall range of 1.59 percent, with 47 districts above the ideal, 51 below the ideal, and one exactly apportioned district. In the Senate, the overall deviation range of the 2002 map was 0.98% with 15 districts above the ideal population, 17 below, and one at the perfectly apportioned. Of the 99 Assembly districts in 2002, 77 districts were within $\pm 0.5\%$ of the ideal population; in the Senate, 32 of 33 districts fell in this range.

The application of the 2010 census to the existing district boundaries shows many districts outside legally permissible bounds; 44 of 99 Assembly seats had populations more than 5.0% above or below the ideal, as did 11 of 33 Senate districts.

Act 43 rectifies the population variations by drawing 99 Assembly districts that fall within a range of 0.76% ($+0.39\%$ to -0.37%); 56 districts are above the ideal population, 41 are below the ideal, and two districts are perfectly apportioned. In the Senate, population variations fall within a range of 0.62% ($+0.35\%$ to -0.27%); 17 districts are above the ideal population, 14 are below the ideal, and two districts are perfectly apportioned.

4. Treatment of minority majority districts

African American and Hispanic populations are of approximately equal size in Wisconsin. African Americans are 6.3% of the Wisconsin statewide population and 26.8% of the population of Milwaukee County. The state population is 5.9% Hispanic origin, and Milwaukee County is 13.3% Hispanic. The African American population is largely concentrated in Milwaukee; over 70% of the 358,280 African American Wisconsinites are in the county, and then largely in the City of Milwaukee and north of the East-West Freeway. By comparison, just 37.5% of the 335,532 Hispanic Wisconsinites live in Milwaukee County, and that population has its greatest concentration south of the East-West Freeway.

Of the existing Assembly districts, five are majority African American districts where minority voters elect a candidate of choice (5.05% of seats statewide); of the existing Senate districts, two are majority African American districts where minority voters elect a candidate of choice (6.06% of seats statewide). There is currently one majority Hispanic Assembly seat and no majority Hispanic Senate seats.

As Table 3 shows, Act 43 includes six majority African American Assembly districts and two majority African American Senate districts. Of the six Assembly districts, five are between 60.4% and 61.9% African American voting age population (VAP), and the sixth is 51.5%

African American (VAP). The Act includes two majority Hispanic Assembly districts that are 54.0% Hispanic VAP and 60.5% Hispanic VAP, respectively. No part of Wisconsin is subject to Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act. However if the state were covered by Section 5 the new plan would meet the non-retrogression standard used by the federal government to assess whether a proposal protects minority voting rights. The new Wisconsin Assembly plan not only avoids retrogression, it creates an additional African American district and an additional Hispanic district.

In Milwaukee County, the 2002 court-drawn baseline map had sixteen Assembly districts wholly within the county, and another three districts that crossed the county line; the county population (940,164) would have accommodated seventeen whole districts plus a third of another. African-American majority districts constituted 28.8% of the potential whole districts that could have been crafted in Milwaukee county, compared to 24.6% African American in the county population. African American majority districts were 26.3% of all districts that were wholly or partially in Milwaukee County.

Act 43 had thirteen Assembly districts wholly within the county, and another eight districts that crossed the county line; the county population (947,735) would have accommodated sixteen whole districts plus half of another. African American majority districts constitute 36.4% of the potential whole districts that could have been crafted in Milwaukee county, compared to 26.8% African American in the county population. African American majority districts are 28.6% of all districts that are wholly or partially in Milwaukee County. Under Act 43, Hispanic majority Assembly districts are 2.02% of all districts in the state, 12.1% of potential whole districts that might be drawn in Milwaukee County, and 9.5% of all districts that are wholly or partially in Milwaukee County.

5. Delayed Voting Effects

The Wisconsin legislature enjoys distinct features that must be considered in the evaluation of legislative maps. Each state Senate district is composed of three entire state Assembly districts, so changes in the Assembly districts will necessarily carry through to the Senate districts. The final evaluation of changes to districts for one chamber must be made in the context of how proposed changes affect the districts of the other chamber.

Assembly members serve two-year terms. Senators serve four-year, staggered terms with half elected in presidential years and the other half coincident with gubernatorial elections. Redistricting results in shifts of voters among Senate districts that will result in temporary delayed voting of some voters. Voters who previously resided in even-numbered Senate districts (which vote at in presidential years) but who are moved to odd-numbered Senate districts (which vote in midterm years) by redistricting will go six years without the opportunity to vote for a state senator. In Wisconsin the delayed voting issue is considered significant and is closely related to the fundamental principles of fairness and equality that underlie the dominant

principles of population equality and racial fairness.

The delayed voting effects of the last three redistricting efforts appear in Table 4. In 1992, the map drawn by the Federal District Court moved 257,000 persons (or about 5.25% of all persons in Wisconsin according to the 1990 census) into districts where voters would wait six years between opportunities to vote for state senator. In 2002, the Federal District Court map moved 171,163 persons (3.14% of the state population according to the 2000 census) into districts where voters would have a six-year delayed vote. In 2011, Act 43 moves 299,704 persons (5.26% of all persons in Wisconsin according to the 2010 census) into new districts that result in similar delayed voting. The number of persons per district experiencing delayed voting ranges from a low of 133 to a high of 72,431, with an average for the 17 districts involved of 17,630 persons per district. The number of people with temporarily delayed votes is numerically similar to the number observed in Oklahoma, where the most recent state Senate map moves 299,528 persons (8.0% of the state) to districts where they will be temporarily disfranchised in state Senate elections. I am currently identifying other states with similar staggered senate elections to ascertain if the Wisconsin and Oklahoma delayed voting effects are exceptional or common.

Delayed voting is not without means for the public to redress. Wisconsin is one of nineteen states that allows for recall of state elected officials.¹ This past summer, senators in nine of the sixteen even-numbered Senate districts were subject to recall, meaning that potentially numerous delayed voters who would have waited from 2008 to 2014 for the chance to vote for senator were able to exercise the franchise via recall, and therefore will not wait six years between opportunities to vote again, but only three. A total of 164,843 persons who reside in the districts who would otherwise have delayed voting also lived in districts where a recall was conducted in 2011. Accounting for the use of the recall, the actual period of delayed voting for these 164,843 persons is just three years, not six. Thus, only 134,861 persons endure the six-year voter delay.

6. Treatment of political subdivisions

Cities and counties are creatures of the state (Dillon's Rule). They can be created, consolidated, or eliminated. Wisconsin's Constitution expressly provides that county, municipality, and ward boundaries be preserved, if possible (Wisconsin Constitution, article IV). Some city and county lines must be ignored to comply with equal population standards. The Federal Court Plan of 1992 acknowledged both that preference and a preference for preserving municipal boundaries in particular in the crafting of state legislative maps.

¹ Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, and Washington also have election recall. Virginia has a recall petition, but the recall is made via a recall trial (similar to an impeachment) rather than a vote of the people.

As reported in Table 5, the 1992 Federal Court map for the Assembly split 72 municipalities and the Senate map split 45 municipalities; in 2002, the Federal Court's Assembly map split 50 municipalities and the Senate map split 24 municipalities. Act 43 splits 62 municipalities in the Assembly and 37 in the Senate, which is between the numbers of municipal splits in the previous two court-ordered maps.

The 1992 Federal Court map split 47 counties in the Assembly and 35 in the Senate; in 2002, the Federal Court divided 51 counties in the Assembly and 42 in the Senate. Act 43 splits 58 counties in the Assembly and 46 in the Senate, which continues the pattern of greater numbers of counties getting split over time.

7. Compactness

A variety of statistical measures have evolved to assess compactness, though they usually reduce down to two: indicators of circular shape, and indicators of circular filling.² The two most widely used measures of compactness applied to legislative districts are the Perimeter-to-Area measure and the Smallest Circle score. These measures were regularly offered in post-*Shaw* litigation of the 1990s. And, traditionally, districting plans are assessed in the context of total (average) plan compactness, though the compactness of individual districts is advanced when attempting to lend context to the design of particular districts (illustrations of both measures are in Figure 1.)

The Perimeter-to-Area (PTA) measure compares the relative length of the perimeter of a district to its area. It represents the area of the district as the proportion of the area of a circle with the same perimeter. The score ranges from 0 to 1, with a value of 1 indicating perfect compactness. This score is achieved if a district is a circle. Most redistricting software generates this measure as the Polsby-Popper statistic.

Smallest Circle (SC) scores measure the space occupied by the district as a proportion of the space of the smallest encompassing circle, with values ranging from 0 to 1. A value of 1 indicates perfect compactness and is achieved if a district is a circle. This statistic is often termed the Reock measure by redistricting applications.³

Compactness scores for Act 43 appear in Table 6. The average smallest circle score for the entire Assembly map is .28 (range from .06 to .63). The average perimeter to area score for the

²Richard G. Niemi, Bernard Grofman, Carl Carlucci, and Thomas Hofeller. 1990. "Measuring Compactness and the Role of Compactness Standard in a Test for Partisan and Racial Gerrymandering." *Journal of Politics* 52: 1155-1181; see also H. P. Young. 1988. "Measuring the Compactness of Legislative Districts." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 13: 105-115.

³Ernest C. Reock, Jr. 1961. "A Note: Measuring Compactness as a Requirement of Legislative Apportionment." *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 5: 70-74.

Assembly map is .28 (range of .05 to .56), and the Senate map has a mean perimeter to area score of .29 (range from .06 to .58). The Assembly compactness scores are marginally lower for Act 43 than for the predecessor, court-crafted plan.⁴

8. Core constituency retention

Core retention measures the extent to which constituencies are maintained or disrupted by a proposed map. There are several ways to measure core constituency retention:

Simple Core Retention: How much of district #X in the old map continues into district #X in the new map? ($\frac{\text{\#X old}}{\text{N new}}$) This approach is potentially problematic if there has been a radical renumbering of the districts. This can be used with confidence only if there is a conscious effort to keep district numbers attached to geographic areas. This almost necessarily entails giving each incumbent a district. In this instance the measure would closely correspond to incumbent-oriented core retention.⁵

Largest Constituency Core Retention: In the new district, what is the largest proportion in the district that was previously together in one particular, previous district? (Figures for this retention appear in Table 7).

Incumbent Core Retention: In the Incumbent's new district, what proportion of the population comes from their old district? (Figures for this retention appear in Table 8).

The average largest core retention is 66.35% in the Assembly, with a low of 30.88% and a high of 99.91%, as reported in Table 7. The average Senate core retention is 78.82% with a low of 57.89% and a high of 99.92%.

Average incumbent core retention reported in Table 8 is lower than the average for the largest core retention shown in Table 7. In the Assembly, average incumbent core retention is 61.65%, with a low of 8.55% and a high of 99.91%. The average core retention for Democratic incumbents is 54.6%, and 65.86% for Republican incumbents. The lowest Democratic incumbent core is 8.55%, the highest is 99.91%; for Republicans, the low is 17.74% and the high

⁴ The 2002 compactness scores and Senate smallest circle scores could not be generated in time for the submission of this report. They will be provided as soon as they are ready.

⁵ An example of the limitations of this measure is the 1992 Georgia congressional redistricting. In that redistricting, in which Georgia gained a seat, the district of incumbent congressman Newt Gingrich (R-6) was completely dismantled, and a new district 6 created that contained none of the old district's population. Gingrich did "follow the number" and ran successfully in the new district 6.

is 97.67%.

In the Senate, average incumbent core retention is 78.23%, with a low of 42.03% and a high of 99.92%. Democratic incumbent core retention averages 78.84%, compared to 77.64% for Republican incumbents. The low Democratic incumbent score is 42.03%, the high is 99.53%. Among Republican incumbents, the low is 57.97%; the high is 99.92%.

9. Incumbent pairings

There are a total of 11 Assembly pairings involving 22 incumbents. Of these pairings, three involve two Democrats; three involve two Republicans; and five involve bipartisan pairings. The incumbent pairings and the associated core retentions of the involved incumbents appear in Table 9. The Act 43 map contained ten pairings. An additional pairing occurred when Rep. Chris Taylor (D) was elected to Assembly District 48 in a July 2011 special election. Until the result of this election, more Republicans than Democrats were paired under Act 43.

10. Act 44, U.S. Congressional Map

Equal population: Act 44 apportions the 2010 census population of the state of Wisconsin perfectly, into eight districts with a variance of one person. Districts 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 have a population of 710,873, while districts 1 and 2 have a population of 710,874.

Racial fairness: The total white, non-Hispanic population of Wisconsin is approximately 4,737,259 ($.833 * 5,686,986$ total persons). There are approximately 949,727 persons who are not Anglo whites in the state. Of these, 358,280 are African American; 335,532 are Hispanic; 130,801 are Asian American; and 56,869 are American Indians. The greatest concentration of minority voters is in Milwaukee County, where there are 514,620 non-Hispanic whites, there are approximately 253,993 African Americans; 126,048 Hispanics; 32,333 Asian Americans; and 6,634 American Indians. No one of these minority groups is sufficiently numerous to constitute the majority of a single congressional district. Act 44 maintains congressional district 4 in Milwaukee County in a configuration that includes 110,488 Hispanics and 285,413 other non-Hispanic minority voters, primarily African Americans. Hispanics make up 15.54% of the district population and other minorities make up 40.15% of the district population, for a total racial, ethnic and linguistic population that is 55.68% of the district.

Treatment of political subdivisions: The congressional map crafted under Act 44 makes 26 splits in 12 counties. Of the 72 counties in the state, only Milwaukee County (947,735) is large enough to wholly contain a congressional district. The county splits are as follows:

Chippewa: 3, 7
Dodge: 5, 6
Jackson: 3, 7
Juneau: 3, 7
Milwaukee: 1, 4 (wholly in the county), 5, 6
Monroe: 3, 7
Richland: 2, 3
Rock: 1, 2
Walworth: 1, 5
Winnebago: 6, 8
Wood: 7, 8
Waukesha: 1, 5

The following municipalities are also split by Act 44. There are a total of 32 split municipalities encompassing 64 splits:

Alma: 3, 7
Anson: 3, 7
Bayside: 4, 6
Beaver Dam: 5, 6
Beliot: 1, 2
Buena Vista: 2, 3
Butler: 4, 5
Clearfield: 3, 7
Dousman: 1, 5
Edson: 3, 7
Germantown: 3, 7
Goetz: 3, 7
Harmony: 1, 2
Hubbard: 5, 6
Janesville: 1, 2
LaGrange: 3, 7
LaPrairie: 1, 2
Libson: 3, 7

Lomira: 5, 6
Milton: 1, 2
New Berlin: 1, 5
Oak Grove: 5, 6
Oshkosk: 6, 8
Rock: 1, 2
Theresa: 5, 6
Tomah: 3, 7
Turtle: 1, 2
Vinland: 6, 8
Waukesha: 1, 5
Whitewater: 1, 2
Winneconne: 6, 8
Wolf River: 6, 8

Core Retention:

All of the congressional districts retain their incumbents, and the incumbents largely retain their districts (see Table 10). The Largest Core and the Incumbent Core are identical. The average core retention for Act 44 is 84.33%, with a high of 96.52% (District 1) and a low of 74.99% (District 5). The average core retention for Democratic incumbents is 83.70%, and 85.36% for Republican incumbents. The lowest Democratic incumbent core is 75.91%, the highest is 91.12%; for Republicans, the low is 74.99% and the high is 96.52%.

Compactness: Compactness scores for Act 44 appear in Table 11. The average smallest circle score is .44; for Republican incumbent districts, the average is .46; for Democratic incumbent districts, the average is .40. The average perimeter to area score is .21; for Republican incumbent districts, the average is .20; for Democratic incumbent districts, the average is .24. The map has increased compactness on the smallest circle score when compared to the previous map, while compactness has decreased on the perimeter to area score.

Pairing of incumbents: No incumbent members of Congress are paired in one district.

11. Conclusion

Act 43 of the Wisconsin Legislature creates districts of substantively equal population in the Assembly and the Senate. These districts are crafted to a variation of less than one percentage point. The Senate map maintains existing African American voting opportunities in the Senate,

and the Assembly map increases by one the number of majority African American Assembly seats, from five to six. The Assembly map also maintains the existing Hispanic opportunity in Milwaukee County and also contains a second district that is majority Hispanic by VAP and which holds out prospects for a second Hispanic opportunity in the future. Both maps are generally compact, adhere to the Wisconsin state requirement to respect county and municipal boundaries, and maintain constituency cores at an average of over 66% in the Assembly and 78% in the Senate. Assembly core retention is lower in the context of incumbency, and lower on average in Democratic incumbent districts than Republican incumbent districts. The Senate map has a delayed voting level of 5.26% -- comparable to the Federal Court map in 1992 -- and subsequent to the summer 2011 recall elections over half of the persons in delayed voting areas resided in areas that had recall elections, and will vote for the Senate again in 2014.

Act 44 creates eight congressional districts with a total population deviation of one person. One of the eight districts is a combined majority minority district, which currently elects an African American incumbent, U.S. Rep. Gwen Moore. The map splits 12 counties and 32 municipalities. Every incumbent member of the delegation is placed in a continuing district and is not paired with another incumbent.

Tables and Figures

Table 1: Population Deviations Under Act 43 for the Wisconsin Assembly

Assembly

Deviation	1992 Court*	2002 Court**	2002 Court***	2011 Act 43***
>10.0%	0	0	7	0
5.0 to 10.0%	0	0	13	0
.5 to 4.99%	0	11	23	0
0-.499	51	36	1	56
No deviation	0	1	0	2
0 to -.499	47	40	3	41
-.5 to -4.99	1	11	28	0
-5.0 to -10.0%	0	0	21	0
< -10.0%	0	0	3	0
Low	-0.53%	-0.77%	-15.77%	-0.39%
High	+0.38%	+0.82%	+32.59%	+0.37%
Range	0.91	1.59	48.36	0.76

*1990 Census

**2000 Census

***2010 Census

Table 2: Population Deviations Under Act 43 for the Wisconsin Senate

Deviation	Senate			
	1992 Court*	2002 Court**	2002 Court***	2011 Act 43***
>10.0%	0	0	2	0
5.0 to 10.0%	0	0	3	0
.5 to 4.99%	0	1	9	0
0-.499	15	14	2	56
No deviation	0	1	0	2
0 to -.499	18	17	2	41
-.5 to -4.99	0	0	9	0
-5.0 to -10.0%	0	0	5	0
< -10.0%	0	0	1	0
Low	-0.29%	-0.47%	-11.36%	-0.27%
High	+0.23%	+0.51	+14.82%	+0.35%
Range	0.52	0.98	26.18	0.62

*1990 Census

**2000 Census

***2010 Census

Table 3: Majority-Minority Districts Under Act 43, Assembly and Senate

District	1992 Court		2002 Court		2011 Act 43	
	African American VAP	Hispanic VAP	African American VAP	Hispanic VAP	African American VAP	Hispanic VAP
<u>Assembly</u>						
8		[32.8%]		58.3%	6.8%	60.5
9				[22.9%]	6.9%	54.0%
10	58.7%	4.0%	67.1%		61.8%	3.7%
11	60.2%	1.7%	62.9%		61.9%	3.0%
12	[18.3%]		[32.8%]		51.5%	4.2%
16	58.3%	4.1%	60.5%		61.3%	4.7%
17	59.7%	1.3%	61.9%		61.3%	3.4%
18	59.0%	5.2%	56.7%		60.4%	5.4%
<u>Senate</u>						
4	[45.0%]	2.4%	54.2%		58.4%	
6	59.0%	3.5%	59.6%		61.0%	

[Bracketed] data are notable concentrations of minority voters illuminated by the court.

Sources:

Prosser et al. v. Elections Board et al., 793 F Supp. 859 (W.D. Wis. 1992);

Baumgart et al v. Wendelberg et al and Jensen et al, 02-C-0366 (E.D. Wis. 2002).

Table 4: Senate Delayed voting Effects from Redistricting Under Act 43

	1992 Court	2002 Court	2011 Act 43	2011 Act 43, Net**
Total Displaced Persons	257,000	171,613	299,704	134,861
% of State	5.25%	3.14%	5.26%	2.37%
Per district*	15,117	10,726	17,630	16,857***

Sources:

Prosser et al. v. Elections Board et al., 793 F Supp. 859 (W.D. Wis. 1992).

Baumgart et al v. Wendelberg et al and Jensen et al, 02-C-0366 (E.D. Wis. 2002).

*N = 17 for 1992 and 2011; N = 16 for 2002.

**Net delayed voting accounting for persons in areas that voted in the July and August 2011 recalls.

***Average for the eight districts that did not participate in the 2011 recall elections.

Table 5: County and Municipal Splits Under Act 43

	1992 (U.S. Court)	2002 (U.S. Court)	2011 (Act 43)
Assembly Municipal Splits	72	50	62
Senate Municipal Splits	45	24	37
Assembly County Splits	47	51	58
Senate County Splits	35	42	46

Source: Wisconsin Legislative Reference Bureau;
Baumgart et al v. Wendelberg et al and Jensen et al, 02-C-0366 (E.D. Wis. 2002).

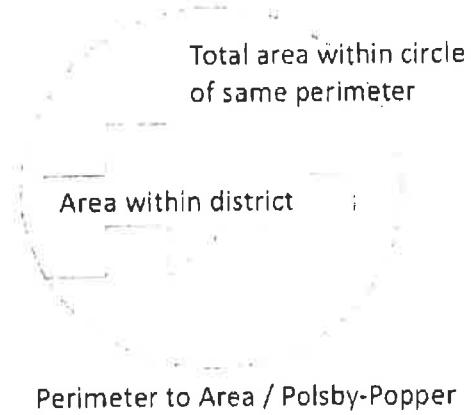
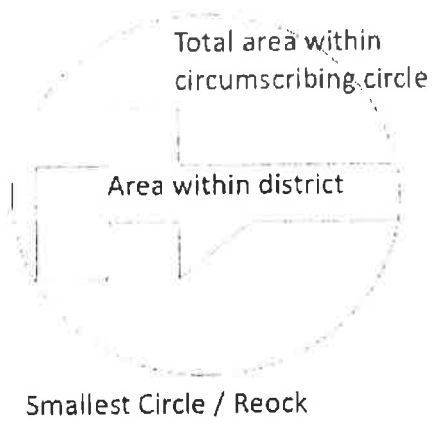


Figure 1: Compactness, illustrated

Table 6: Compactness Scores Under Act 43, Wisconsin Assembly and Wisconsin Senate

	Assembly	Assembly	Senate	Senate
	2002 Map	2011 Map	2002 Map	2011 Map
Smallest Circle				
Average	.41	.39		
Low	.18	.20		
High	.63	.61		
Perimeter-to-area				
Average	.29	.28		.29
Low	.06	.05		.06
High	.58	.56		.58

Table 7: Largest Core Retention Under Act 43, Assembly and Senate Districts

	Assembly	Senate
Average	66.35	78.82
Low	30.88	57.89
High	99.91	99.92

Table 8: Incumbent Core Retention Under Act 43

	Assembly	Senate
Assembly		
Average	61.65%	78.23%
Low	8.55%	42.03%
High	99.91%	99.92%
Democratic Incumbent	54.60%	78.84%
Low	8.55%	42.03%
High	99.91%	99.53%
Republican Incumbent	65.86%	77.64%
Low	17.74%	57.97%
High	97.67%	99.92%

Table 9: Incumbent Pairings Under Act 43, Wisconsin Assembly and Senate

Act 43 District	Incumbent / 2002 District	% Deviation*	% Inc. Core**
Assembly 92	Danou-D, 91	-1.38%	70.84%
	Radcliffe-D, 92	+2.52%	29.16%
Assembly 7	Kiusick-D, 7	-2.82%	30.88%
	Zepnick-D, 9	+5.98%	13.92%
Assembly 76	Pocon-D, 78	-4.20%	67.96%
	Taylor-D, 48	+6.89%	10.45%
Assembly 31	Loudenbeck-R, 45	+3.77%	45.44%
	August-R, 32	+4.72%	26.20%
Assembly 88	Klenke-R, 88	+1.12%	47.89%
	Jacque-R, 2	+6.21%	34.23%
Assembly 89	Nygren-R, 89	+6.21%	82.26%
	Van Roy-R, 90	+2.71%	17.74%
Assembly 33	Jorgensen-D, 37	+2.65%	45.31%
	Nass-R, 31	+7.50%	29.85%
Assembly 14	Cullen-D, 13	-6.23%	31.81%
	Kooyenga-R, 14	-8.34%	35.80%
Assembly 22	Kessler-D, 12	-3.78%	11.79%
	Pridemore-R, 99	+10.98%	35.66%
Assembly 23	Pasch-D, 22	-7.71%	36.14%
	Ott-R, 23	-3.82%	36.92%
Assembly 61	Steinbrink-D, 65	+7.25%	36.07%
	Kerkman-R, 66	+7.18%	63.93%

Senate 21	Wirch-D, 22	+4.46%	57.97%
	Wanggaard-R, 21	-3.25%	42.03%

*Population deviation of the incumbent's previous district under the 2002 Federal Court-drawn map.

**Percentage of the new district that comes from the incumbent's previous district.

Table 10: Core Retention, Congressional Districts, Act 44

District	Total Pop.	Retained Core	Core Percent
1	710,874	686,159	96.52
2	710,874	633,024	89.05
3	710,873	539,603	75.91
4	710,873	647,764	91.12
5	710,873	533,051	74.99
6	710,873	565,950	79.61
7	710,873	538,884	75.81
8	710,873	651,119	91.59
Average	710,873	599,444	84.33
Dem. Avg.	710,873	606,797	83.70
Rep. Avg.	710,873	595,033	85.36

Table 11: Compactness, Congressional Districts, Act 44

District	2002 Map	Act 44	2002 Map	Act 44
	Smallest Circle	Smallest Circle	Perimeter to Area	Perimeter to Area
1	0.47	0.49	0.32	0.31
2	0.56	0.54	0.37	0.43
3	0.33	0.33	0.37	0.17
4	0.30	0.30	0.12	0.13
5	0.53	0.53	0.25	0.24
6	0.38	0.38	0.23	0.16
7	0.53	0.53	0.19	0.16
8	0.40	0.42	0.13	0.11
Average	.42	.44	.25	.21
Dem. Avg.	0.40	0.39	0.29	0.24
Rep. Avg.	0.46	0.47	0.22	0.20

RONALD KEITH GADDIE
Curriculum Vitae

Department of Political Science
The University of Oklahoma
Norman, OK 73019

voc: (405) 325-4989 / fax: (405) 325-0718
email: rkgaddie@ou.edu
web: faculty-staff.ou.edu/G/Ronald.K.Gaddie-1

EDUCATION

Ph.D., Political Science, The University of Georgia, June 1993
M.A., Political Science, The University of Georgia, December 1989
B.S., Political Science, History, The Florida State University, August 1987
A.A., Liberal Arts, The Florida State University, December 1986

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

Professor of Political Science, The University of Oklahoma (July 2003-)

Associate Professor (July 1999-June 2003)

Assistant Professor (August 1996-June 1999)

Faculty Fellow, Science and Public Policy Program, Sarkeys Energy Center, the University of Oklahoma (2002- 2004)

Editor (with Kelly R. Damphousse), *Social Science Quarterly*, July 2010-present

Research Assistant Professor of Environmental Health Sciences, Tulane University School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine (September 1994-August 1996); also adjunct Assistant Professor of Political Science, Tulane University (September 1994-August 1996)

Freeport-McMoRan Environmental Policy Postdoctoral Fellow, Tulane University School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine (January 1993-September 1994)

Teaching and Research Assistant, Department of Political Science, The University of Georgia (September 1987-December 1992)

AWARDS, GRANTS, & HONORS

Freeport-McMoRan Post-Doctoral Fellowship, Tulane University, 1993-1994

Coca-Cola Foundation Summer Scholar Faculty Mentor, Tulane University, 1995, 1996

University of Oklahoma Research Council Junior Faculty Research Award (\$6,000), 1997

Junior Faculty Development Fund Research Award (\$540), The University of Oklahoma, 1997

"Guest Coach", University of Oklahoma Football Team, 1997

College of Arts and Sciences Teaching and Research Award (\$875), The University of Oklahoma, 1997-1998

College of Arts and Sciences Summer Research Fellowship (\$6,000), The University of Oklahoma, 1998

Pi Sigma Alpha Best Paper Award, Southwestern Political Science Association Meeting, 1998, 2006

Oklahoma Honors College Undergraduate Research Mentor, Spring 1999

Daily Oklahoman Poll, Co-Principal Investigator with Gary W. Copeland, (\$82,000), 1999-2001

Jewell Prestage Award, for the Best Paper on Gender, Race, Ethnicity, and Political Behavior, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2003

The Order of Kentucky Colonels, conferred August 16 2006

"Guest Coach", University of Oklahoma Women's Basketball Team, 2007

President-Elect, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2006-07

President, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2007-08

Society for Professional Journalists (Oklahoma PRO Chapter) award for "Best Radio Talk Program," 2008, 2009, 2010

Julian J. Rothbaum Award for the outstanding book published by the University of Oklahoma Press, 2009, for *The Triumph of Voting Rights in the South*.

V. O. Key Jr. Award for the outstanding book on Southern Politics (2011) for *The Triumph of Voting Rights in the South*.

PROFESSIONAL CONSULTING AND PARTNERSHIPS

Managing Partner, Intelligent Robotic Solutions LLC, (Oklahoma City, OK) January 2010-present

Consulting Senior Vice-President, Shapard Research LLC (Oklahoma City, OK), January 2009-present

Partner, TVPoll.com PC (Oklahoma City), September 2006-present (consulting expert, June-September 2006)

Partner, Soonerpolitics.com, September 2006-2008 (sole proprietor, May 2004-September 2006)

Consulting expert, Phoenix Consulting (Oklahoma City, OK) September 2005-2007

Consulting expert (*of Counsel*), Wilson Research Strategies (Washington DC, Austin, & Oklahoma City), OK, 2004-2006

Adjunct Professor of Management, Central Michigan University, March 1995-July 1996

Electoral/Demographics, June 1988-December 1992 (Programmer and analyst)

Legislative Aide, Rep. John F. Cosgrove, Florida House of Representatives, April-July 1987

TEACHING

The University of Oklahoma (1996-)

Graduate Courses:

Analysis for Political and Public Administration
Data
Congress in the Political System
Environmental Policy and Administration
Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations
Games, Decisions, and Policy
Intermediate Data Analysis
Legislative Politics
Mass Politics and Realignment
Mediating Political Institutions
Problems in Implementation
Problems in Political Behavior
Public Budgeting and Finance
Public Policy Analysis
Public Policy Problems
Southern Politics
Problems in the Law and Constitution: Voting
Rights

Ph.D. Dissertations:

Scott E. Buchanan. 1999. *Perspectives on the Racial Threat Hypothesis: Testing a Theory of Southern Politics*. Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma.
Joshua Stockley. 2005. *State Party Organizations as Campaign Service Providers: A Three-State Study of Candidate and Party Perceptions*. Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma.

Tulane University (1993-1996)

Graduate:

Seminar in Quantitative Research Methods
Environmental Policy and Management

The University of Georgia (1987-1992)

Undergraduate:

American Federal Government

Undergraduate:

American Federal Government
American Federal Government (Honors)
American Political Processes
Environmental Policy and Administration
Freshman Seminar: The Presidential Campaign
Freshman Seminar: Hollywood Politics
Measurement and Analysis for Public
Administration
Politics in America: Generational Politics
Politics in Film
Practical Political Analysis
Public Opinion
Capstone Seminar: American Politics in Film &
Literature
Southern Politics
Voters and Campaigns

Other Supervision:

Approximately sixty-five M.P.A. projects, M.A. project papers, or M.A. theses supervised since 1997. Service on approximately forty Ph.D. committees, including six in communications, seven in economics, one in sociology, four in organizational leadership.

Undergraduate:

American Politics (Honors)
Environmental Politics
Global Environmental Politics (Honors)

Political Science Research Methods

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2010. *Georgia Politics in a State of Change*. New York: Pearson/Longman.

--2d edition, 2012.

Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2009. *The Triumph of Voting Rights in the South*. Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2004. *Born to Run: Origins of the Political Career*. Lanham, Md: Rowman and Littlefield Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock, III. 2000. *Elections to Open Seats In The U.S. House: Where the Action Is*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and James L. Regens. 2000. *Regulating Wetlands Protection: Environmental Federalism and the States*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Gary W. Copeland, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Craig A. Williams. 1998. *The Almanac of Oklahoma Politics 1998*. Stillwater, Oklahoma: OPSA Press. Also published as *Oklahoma Politics: Special Issue*, 6 [1997].

--2d edition, 1999. *The Almanac of Oklahoma Politics 2000*. Edmond, OK, OPSA Press.

--3d edition, 2001. *The Almanac of Oklahoma Politics 2002*. Norman, OK: The Carl Albert Center for Congressional Studies.

James L. Regens and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1995. *The Economic Realities of Political Reform: Elections and the U.S. Senate*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

--Paperback edition, 2005.

Edited Volumes

Donald P. Haider-Markel, general editor; Michael Card, Ronald Keith Gaddie, Gary Moncrief, Kenneth Palmer, regional editors. 2008. *The Political Encyclopedia of U.S. States and Regions*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.

John C. Kuzenski, Charles S. Bullock, III and Ronald Keith Gaddie (editors). 1995. *David Duke and the Politics of Race in the South*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Academic Books In Progress

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock III. *DeLayed Democracy: The Texas Redistricting War 2001-2006*. Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma Press (under contract).

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Bill Shapard. *Red State Rising: The New Oklahoma Politics*. Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma Press (under contract).

Thomas R. Dye and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2013. *Politics in America, 10th edition*. New York: Pearson (under contract).

Trade and Popular Books

- Scott Cooper & Keith Gaddie. 2011. *OU Football IQ*. Jacksonville, FL: Black Mesa Publishing.
- Keith Gaddie. 2010. *Ghosts on Vintners Landing: A Novel*. Jacksonville, FL: Black Mesa Publishing.
- Keith Gaddie & Kim Gaddie. 2009. *Georgia Football IQ*. Jacksonville, FL: Black Mesa Publishing.
- David Horne - Daniel Brush - Marc CB Maxwell & Keith Gaddie. 2008. *University of Georgia Football*. New York: Savas Beatie.

Articles

- Ronald Keith Gaddie, Justin J. Wert, and Charles S. Bullock, III. Forthcoming. Seats, Votes, Citizens, and History in the One-Person, One-Vote Problem. *Stanford Law and Policy Review* 23 (Spring 2012).
- Charles S. Bullock III, Justin J. Wert, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2011. 'Of Benedick and Beatrice': *Citizens United* and the Rein of the Laggard Court. *Cornell Journal of Law and Public Policy* 20(3): 719-737.
- Charles S. Bullock III, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Justin J. Wert. 2009. Electoral College Reform and Voting Rights. *Faulkner Law Review* 1 (1): 89-134.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock, III. 2007. From *Ashcroft* To *Larios*: Recent Redistricting Lessons from Georgia. *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 34 (April): 997-1048.
- Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2007. Voting Rights Progress in Georgia. *New York University Journal of Legislation and Public Policy* 10 (Spring): 1-49.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock III. 2007. Campaign Finance Reform as the New Political Thicket of the Supreme Court. *NeXus: A Journal of Opinion* 12: 43-55.
- Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2007. Good Intentions and Bad Social Science Meet in the Renewal of the Voting Rights Act. *Georgetown Journal of Law & Public Policy* 5 (Winter): 1-27.
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- Charles S. Bullock, III, Donna R. Hoffman, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. Regional Variations in the Realignment of American Politics, 1944-2004. *Social Science Quarterly* 87 (September): 494-518.
- Jocelyn Jones Evans, Lynsey Morris, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. Wallace and the 1972 Florida Democratic Presidential Primary: Examining Racial Threat with Individual-Level and Aggregate-Level Data. *Florida Political Chronicle* 17 (Spring): 1-11.
- Charles S. Bullock, III, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Ben Smith. 2005. White Voters, Black Representative, and Candidates of Choice. *American Review of Politics* 26 (Fall): 267-289.
- Charles S. Bullock III, Donna R. Hoffman, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2005. The Consolidation of the Southern White Vote. *Political Research Quarterly* 58 (June): 231-243.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2004. The Texas Redistricting, Measure for Measure. *Extensions: A Journal of the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center* (Fall 2004): 19-24.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2004. Restoring the U.S. House of Representatives: A Skeptical Look at Current Proposals. *Cato Policy Analysis* 510 (February 17): 1-14.
- Charles S. Bullock, III, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Anders Ferrington. 2002. System Structure, Campaign Stimuli, and Voter Falloff in Runoff Primaries. *The Journal of Politics* 64 (4, November): 1210-1224.
- Kim U. Hoffman, Carrie Palmer, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2002. Candidate Sex and Congressional Elections

- Outcomes: A Longitudinal Look Through the Open Seats. *Women & Politics* 23 (1 & 2): 37-58.; appears in Karen O'Connor, ed. 2002. *Women and Congress: Running, Winning, and Ruling*. Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press.
- James W. Douglas and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2002. State Rainy Day Funds and Fiscal Crises: Rainy Day Funds and the 1990-1991 Recession Revisited. *Public Budgeting and Finance* 22 (Winter): 19-30.
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- Ronald Keith Gaddie, Kim U. Hoffman, and Carrie Palmer. 2000. Congressional Elections Beyond the Year of the Woman: A Research Update. *Social Science Quarterly* 81 (September): 879-884.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie, Jonathan D. Mott, and Shad D. Satterthwaite. 1999. Partisan Dimensions to Corporate Realignment in Congressional Campaign Finance. *Public Integrity* 1(4): 7-41.
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- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Jonathan D. Mott. 1998. The 1996 Open Seat Congressional Elections. *Social Science Quarterly* 79 (June): 445-455.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie, Russell Keith Johnson, and John K. Wildgen. 1998. Geographic Information Systems and Social Policy Formulation. *Studies in the Social Sciences* 19 (April): 101-114.
- Charles S. Bullock, III, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1997. Contestation and Turnout in Multi-Member and Single-Member Districts. *Southeastern Political Review* 25 (4):1-16.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Scott E. Buchanan. 1997. Shifting Partisan Alignments in Oklahoma. *Oklahoma Politics: Special Issue* 6 (October): 25-32; appears in Gary W. Copeland, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Craig A. Williams (General Editors). 1997. *The Almanac of Oklahoma Politics* 1997-1998. Stillwater, OK: OPSA Press.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1997. Congressional Seat Swings: Revisiting Exposure in House Elections. *Political Research Quarterly* 50 (September): 675-686.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock, III. 1997. Structural and Elite Features in Open Seat and Special Elections: Is There a Sexual Bias? *Political Research Quarterly* 50 (June): 457-466.
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- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock, III. 1995. Congressional Elections and the Year of the Woman: Structural and Elite Influence on Female Candidacies. *Social Science Quarterly* 76 (December): 749-762.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1995. Negating the Democratic Party Advantage in Open Seat Elections -- A Research Update. *Social Science Quarterly* 76 (September): 673-680.
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- Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1995. Is There an Inherent Democratic Party Advantage in U.S. House Elections?

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- James L. Regens, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Brad Lockerbie. 1995. The Electoral Consequences of Voting to Declare War. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39 (March): 168-182.
- Charles S. Bullock, III, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1994. Runoffs in Jesse Jackson's Backyard. *Social Science Quarterly*, 75 (September): 446-454.
- James L. Regens, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Euel Elliott. 1994. Corporate Campaign Contributions and Rent Provision in Senate Elections. *Social Science Quarterly* 75 (March): 152-165.
- Charles S. Bullock, III, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1993. Changing from Multi-Member to Single-Member Districts: Partisan, Racial, and Gender Impacts. *State and Local Government Review* 25 (Fall): 155- 163.
- James L. Regens, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Euel Elliott. 1993. Member Attributes and Corporate Contributions to U.S. Senators: Do Environmental Compliance Costs Matter? *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 26 (June): 331-341.
- James L. Regens, Euel W. Elliott, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1991. Regulatory Costs, Committee Jurisdiction, and Corporate PAC Contributions. *Social Science Quarterly*, 72 (December): 751-760.

Chapters

- Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2011. Realignment. In Charles S. Bullock III and Mark J. Rozell, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Southern Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Justin Wert. 2011. Before KKV, V.O. Key: *Southern Politics* and Social Science Methodology. In Todd G. Shields, ed., *Unlocking V. O. Key's Southern Politics*. Little Rock: University of Arkansas Press.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie and John William Shapard. 2010. Oklahoma: Red State Rising. In Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark Rozell (eds.) *The New Politics of the Old South (4th)*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Press.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2010. The Democratic Party of Oklahoma. In *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2010. The Republican Party of Oklahoma. In *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Michael D. Jones. 2009. Tennessee: Cracker Barrel Realignment. In Branwell DuBose Kapeluck, Lawrence W. Moreland, and Robert P. Steed, eds., *A Paler Shade of Red: The 2008 Presidential Election in the South*. Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2008. The South. In Donald P. Haider-Markel, editor, *Political Encyclopedia of U.S. States and Regions*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly.
- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Michael D. Jones. 2008. New South? Diverse Politics in States of Dynamic Change. In Todd G. Shields and Shannon G. Davis, eds., *New Voices of the Old South: How Women and Minorities Influence Southern Politics*. Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University John Scott Daily Florida Institute of Government
- Ronald Keith Gaddie and Michael D. Jones. 2008. Tennessee: A Quiet Sort of Inequality. In Todd G. Shields and Shannon G. Davis, eds., *New Voices of the Old South: How Women and Minorities Influence Southern Politics*. Tallahassee, FL: Florida State University John Scott Daily Florida Institute of Government.
- Gary W. Copeland, Rebecca J. Cruise, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. Oklahoma: Evangelicals and the Secular Realignment. In Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark Rozell (eds.) *The New Politics of the Old South (3d)*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Press.

Charles S. Bullock III, Rebecca J. Cruise, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2005. Sessions versus Frost in the Texas 32d District. In Robert Dewhirst and Sunil Ahuja, eds., *The Roads to Congress 2004*. Boca Raton, FL: Nova University Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie, with Jennifer Christol, Charles Mullin, Katherine Thorne, and Benjamin Wilson. 2005. Issue Advocacy in the 2004 Oklahoma Senate Election. In David Magelby, J. Quin Monson, and Kelly D. Patterson, eds., *Dancing Without Partners: How Candidates, Parties and Interest Groups Interact in the New Campaign Finance Environment*. Provo: Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock, III. 2003. Bob Barr and John Linder (versus Tom Murphy) in Georgia's 7th District. In Sunil Ahuja and Robert Dewhirst (eds.) *The Road to Congress 2002*. Chicago: Wadsworth Publishers.

Robert Dewhirst and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2003. The 2000 Congressional Elections: Tradition Meets Competition in the New Age. In Robert P. Watson and Colton C. Campbell, Eds., *Campaigns & Elections: Issues, Concepts, and Cases*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Gary W. Copeland. 2003. Oklahoma: God and the Grassroots. In Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark Rozell (eds.) *The New Politics of the Old South (2d)*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Press.

Melody Huckaby and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2001. Carson Defeats Ewing in Oklahoma's 2d District. In Sunil Ahuja and Robert Dewhirst (eds.) *The Road to Congress 2000*. Chicago: Wadsworth Publishers.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Gary W. Copeland. 2001. Partisan Trends in Oklahoma. In Gary W. Copeland, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Craig A. Williams (General Editors), *The Almanac of Oklahoma Politics 2002*. Norman, OK: Carl Albert Center for Congressional Studies and Research.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Donna R. Hoffman. 2001. Critical Events in Contemporary Southern Politics: Dynamic Growth and Partisan Percolations. In John C. Kuzenski, Laurence W. Moreland and Robert P. Steed (eds.). *Eye of The Storm: The South And Congress in an Era of Change*. Westport, CT: Praeger Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Lesli McCollum. 2000. Money and the Incumbency Advantage in US House Elections. In Joseph Zimmerman and Wilma Rule (eds.) *This U.S. House of Representatives: Renovate or Rebuild?* Westport, CT: Praeger Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1999. Nickles, Defeats Carroll in Oklahoma. In Robert Dewhirst and Sunil Ahuja (eds.) *The Road to Congress 1998*. Chicago: Wadsworth Publishers.

Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1999. Party Building and Republican Growth in Oklahoma. In Gary W. Copeland, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Craig A. Williams (General Editors). 1999. *The Almanac of Oklahoma Politics 2000*. Edmond, OK: OPSA Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Scott E. Buchanan. 1998. Oklahoma: Realignment in the Buckle of the Bible Belt. In Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark Rozell (eds.) *The New Politics of the Old South: An Introduction to Southern Politics*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock, III. 1997. Voter Turnout and Candidate Participation Effects of Affirmative-Action Districting. In Robert Steed, Laurence Moreland, and Tod Baker, eds., *Southern Parties and Elections: Studies in Regional Change*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Ronald Keith Gaddie, David Barnhill, and James L. Regens. 1997. J. Horace McFarland. In Richard Harmond and G. A. Cevalco, eds., *American Environmentalists: A Selective Autobiographical Encyclopedia, 1850-1990*. New York: Scarecrow Press.

David Barnhill, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and James L. Regens. 1997. Joseph Grinnell. In Richard Harmond and G. A. Cevalco, eds., *American Environmentalists: A Selective Autobiographical Encyclopedia, 1850-1990*. New York: Scarecrow Press.

David Barnhill, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and James L. Regens. 1997. Clarence Dutton. In Richard Harmond and G. A. Cevalco, eds., *American Environmentalists: A Selective Autobiographical Encyclopedia, 1850-1990*. New York: Scarecrow Press.

Charles S. Bullock, III, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and John C. Kuzenski. 1995. The Candidacy of David Duke as a Stimulus to Black Voting. In John C. Kuzenski, Charles S. Bullock, III and Ronald Keith Gaddie (editors), *David Duke and the Politics of Race in the South*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Susan A. MacManus and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1993. Florida. In Leroy Hardy, Alan Heslop, and George S. Blair, eds., *Redistricting in the 1980s: A 50-State Survey*. Claremont, CA: The Rose Institute of State and Local Government.

Charles S. Bullock, III, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1993. Georgia. In Leroy Hardy, Alan Heslop, and George S. Blair, eds., *Redistricting in the 1980s: A 50-State Survey*. Claremont, CA: The Rose Institute of State and Local Government.

Charles S. Bullock, III, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1991. Changing from Multi-Member to Single-Member Districts: The Florida Case. In Susan A. MacManus, ed., *Reapportionment and Representation in Florida: A Historical Collection*. Tampa: Intrabay Innovation Institute.

Susan A. MacManus and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1991. Reapportionment in Florida: The Stakes Keep Getting Higher. In Susan A. MacManus, ed., *Reapportionment and Representation in Florida: A Historical Collection*. Tampa: Intrabay Innovation Institute.

Monographs

Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. *An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Alabama*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Policy Series.

Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. *An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Arizona*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Policy Series.

Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. *An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in New York*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Policy Series.

Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. *An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Oklahoma*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Policy Series.

Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. *An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in Tennessee*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Policy Series.

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Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. *An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress: Alaska, Michigan, New Hampshire, South Dakota*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Policy Series.

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Charles S. Bullock III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2005. *An Assessment of Voting Rights Progress in South Carolina*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Policy Series.

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Reviews & Communications

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Book Reviews: *American Review of Politics* (December 1999), *Social Science Quarterly* (1993)

TECHNICAL & EXPERT REPORTS

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Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2010. *EXPERT REPORT OF RONALD KEITH GADDIE, Ph.D.* Submitted in *Lepak v. City of Irving, Texas*; No. 03-CV-0277P (Northern District of Texas) June 7 2010.

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CONFERENCE PAPERS & PRESENTATIONS

Justin J. Wert, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Charles S. Bullock III. 2011. "Citizens United and the Rein of the Laggard Court" To be presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, January 2011.

Scott E. Buchanan and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2010. The Shifting Vote in the Hill Country South, 1992-2008. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, January 2010.

Ronald Keith Gaddie, Justin J. Wert, and Charles S. Bullock III, 2010. Before KKV and APD, V.O. Key: *Southern Politics* and Social Science Methodology, Part II. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, January 2010.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and Justin Wert. 2009. Before KKV, V.O. Key: *Southern Politics* and Social Science Methodology. Prepared for presentation at the Unlocking V. O. Key Conference at the Diane D. Blair Center of Southern Politics and Society at the University of Arkansas, April 1-3 2009.

Justin Wert, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Charles S. Bullock III. 2009. Sunset Amendments: Is the Voting Rights Act an 'Unenumerated Right'? Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January.

Charles S. Bullock III, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Justin Wert. 2008. Electoral College Reform And Voting Rights. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Las Vegas, NV, March.

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Ronald F. Peters, Jr., Matthew Field, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2008. The Hastert Rules: Majority Party Governance in the U.S. House of Representatives. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, January.

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Rebecca JoAnn Cruise and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2007. War Votes and War Voters, 2002-2006: The Evolution of the Electoral Consequences of Voting to Declare War. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, January.

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Michael D. Jones and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2006. Morality and Populism as Narrative and Structure in the 2004 Southern Senate Delegation. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, January.

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TX, March 2001.

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Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2000. Testing Some Key Hypotheses of Voter Turnout. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, November 2000.

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Ronald Keith Gaddie and Jonathan D. Mott. 1997. Realignment or Redux? The 1996 Open Seat Congressional Elections. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, New Orleans, March 1997 (Nominated for *Pi Sigma Alpha Best Paper Award*).

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Ronald Keith Gaddie and Charles S. Bullock, III. 1994. Voter Turnout and Candidate Participation Effects of Affirmative-Action Districting. Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, Charleston, South Carolina, March 1994.

Ronald Keith Gaddie and James L. Regens. 1994. Transactional Relationships of Interest Groups and Legislators: An Empirical Test of Madison's Model. Presented at the Murphy Institute Conference on Constitutions and Constitutionalism, New Orleans, Louisiana, February 1994.

John C. Kuzenski and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1993. Indicators of Legislative Activity in the United States Senate. Presented at the annual meetings of the Southern Political Science Association meeting, Savannah, Georgia, November 1993.

Charles S. Bullock, III, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1993. Candidate Recruitment, Turnover and Turnout. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C. September 1993.

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Charles S. Bullock, III, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1992. Runoffs in Jesse Jackson's Backyard. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia, November 1992.

James L. Regens and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1992. Party Money, PAC Money and Efficient Rent-Seeking by Senate Incumbents. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 1992.

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Washington, D.C., September 1991.

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James L. Regens, Euel W. Elliott, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1990. Modeling the Influence of Regulatory Costs on Congressional Campaign Finance. Presented at the Public Choice meeting, Tucson, Arizona, March 1990.

Euel W. Elliott, Ronald Keith Gaddie, and Gerard Gryski. 1989. Economic and Political Explanations of Republican Southern State Legislative Support: The Short-Term Dynamics 1976-1984. Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Memphis, Tennessee, November 1989.

THESIS & DISSERTATION

Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1993. *Southern Myth: Candidates, Money, and Congressional Elections in the 1980s*, doctoral dissertation written under the direction of Charles S. Bullock, III. Reading committee: John Clark, Robert Grafstein, Brad Lockerbie, Edward Kellough.

Ronald Keith Gaddie. 1989. *Southern Democratic Party Factionalism: A Factor Contributing to Republican Success in the Two-Party South*, M.A. thesis written under the direction of Charles S. Bullock, III. Reading committee: Loch K. Johnson, Euel Elliott.

MEDIA COMMENTARY AND INTERVIEWS

Electronic

BBC International Radio

Bloomberg Financial Television's *Money & Politics*

Business Radio Network (Syndicated)

Christian Science Monitor's "Monitor Radio International"

CNN's *Capital Gang*

Louisiana Weekly Radio (Syndicated)

Louisiana Radio Network

KGOU-FM/KROU-FM (Norman, OK)

KJRH (Tulsa)

KOCO-TV (Oklahoma City)

KOKH-TV (Oklahoma City)

KOKI-TV (Tulsa)

KOSU-FM (Stillwater)

KOTV (Tulsa)

KRMG-FM (Tulsa)

KTIX-FM (Thibodeaux)

KTOK-AM 1000 (Oklahoma City)

KWTV-TV (Oklahoma City)

MS-NBC's "America's Talking"

NPR "Weekend Edition"

OETA Television (PBS)

--*Stateline*

--*Legislative Week*

--*Oklahoma Forum*

--*Oklahoma News Report*

PBS "NewsHour"

Voice of America Radio

WDSU-TV 6 (New Orleans);

Wire 48

WKY-930AM (Oklahoma City)

WWL-870 AM (New Orleans)

WODT-AM (New Orleans)

WQUE-93.3 FM/1280AM (New Orleans)

WSB-TV 2 (Atlanta)

Print

Associated Press
Atlanta Journal-Constitution
The Buffalo (NY) Evening News
The Chicago Tribune
Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report
The Daily Oklahoman
The Economist
The Financial Times (London)
Fort Worth Star-Telegram
Gambit Magazine
Gannett Syndicate
The Hill Newspaper
The Huffington Report
The Kiplinger Business Letter
Los Angeles Times
The McCarville Report
The Montreal Gazette

National Catholic Reporter
National Journal Hotline
New Orleans Times-Picayune
The New York Times
The Norman Transcript
The Oklahoma Daily
The Oklahoma City Journal Record
Oklahoma Gazette
Pew Center for the States
Politico.com
Roll Call
Salon.com Magazine
San Francisco Chronicle
Southern Political Report
The Tulanian Magazine
Tulsa World
USAToday
The Washington Post
Washington Times

Special Contributions, Popular or Editorial Publications

Special contribution to *Roll Call*, "Myths, Realities of Norwood's VRA Amendment" July 13 2006.
Special contribution to *SouthNow* magazine: "Oklahoma: The Republican Realignment Continues" Winter 2004/2005.
Research profile in *USAToday Magazine*, "What if terrorists wipe out congress?" April, 2004.

Regular Contributions, Popular or Editorial Publications and Broadcasts

News contributor and analyst, KWTW-9 (CBS), October 2006-present
News contributor, KGOU-106.3 FM (NPR), Norman, June 2006-present / three-time SPJ award winner for long-format radio (2008, 2009, 2010)
Co-Host, "Tailgate Political Hour with Kyle and Keith", KTLR 890AM, Oklahoma City, September 2006-June 2007
Contributing editor, *The McCarville Report*, (www.tmrcon.blogspot.com), December 2006-December 2007.
Columnist, the *Oklahoma Gazette* (progressive weekly), October 2005-present
News contributor/permanent guest host, WKY-930 AM (Citadel Broadcasting), Oklahoma City, July 2004-January 2006
Weekly commentator, KTOK-1000 AM/ KTOK.com (Clear Channel), Oklahoma City, April-November 2004
Webmaster and editor, *SoonerPolitics.com* (May 2004-May 2007)
Columnist, *Southern Political Report/ InsiderAdvantage*, November 2005-January 2007

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES AND PUBLIC PRESENTATIONS**Editorial Boards**

Editorial Board, *Social Science Quarterly*, 1999-2010; editor (with Kelly R. Damphousse), 2010-present
Editorial Board, *American Review of Politics*, 2002-
Faculty Advisory Board, The University of Oklahoma Press, 2007-present

Manuscript Reviewer

American Journal of Political Science; American Political Science Review, American Politics Quarterly; American Politics Research; American Review of Politics; Electoral Studies, Journal of Politics; Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, Legislative Studies Quarterly; Policy Studies Journal; Political Research Quarterly; Polity; Public Administration Review, Publius; Social Science Quarterly; Southeastern Political Review; Southern Economic Journal; State and Local Government Review; Western Political Quarterly; Women & Politics; Cambridge University Press; University Presses of Florida; State University of New York Press; MicroCase Publishers; University of Oklahoma Press; Addison Wesley Longman Press.

Program committees

Southwestern Political Science Association, 1997, 2002
Southern Political Science Association, 2000
Southwestern Social Science Association, 1997-2000

Panel Chair

Midwest Political Science Association, 2000
Oklahoma Political Science Association, 1999, 2000
Southwestern Political Science Association, 1993, 1995, 2001, 2007
Southern Political Science Association Meeting, 1995, 1998, 2001, 2005
Conference on Women Transforming Congress, Carl Albert Center for Congressional Studies, 2000
Moderator, McMahon Symposium, Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass Communication, the University of Oklahoma, 2003

Panel Discussant

Southern Political Science Association, 2001, 2005, 2006
Southwestern Political Science Association, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2007, 2008
Citadel Symposium, 1994
Midwestern Political Science Association, 2002, 2003, 2005
American Political Science Association, 2002

Roundtable participant

Southwestern Political Science Association, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2007
Southern Political Science Association Meeting, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2005

Committee and Council Work

President, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2007-2008
President-Elect, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2006-2007
Executive Council, Southwestern Social Science Association, 2007-2008, 2010-present
Executive Committee, Southwestern Social Science Association, 2010-present
Executive Council, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2001-2003
Nominations Committee, Southwestern Social Science Association, 2001-2003

Best Graduate Paper Award Committees:

Southwestern Political Science Association, 1999-2000 (Chair), 2000-2001 (Chair)
Southern Political Science Association (Malcolm Jewell Award) 1996-1997, 1999-2000 (Chair)
Best Undergraduate Paper Award Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2007-08
V. O. Key Book Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association, 2002, 2004, 2011
Pi Sigma Alpha Award Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2002
Membership Committee, Southern Political Science Association, 1998-2001

Membership Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1998-present
Allen Saxe Award Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2004 (Chair)
Workshop Leader, Southwestern Social Science Association, 1998.

COMMUNITY SERVICE

Oklahoma Intercollegiate Legislature Foundation, board member, 2010-
PTA Volunteer, Roosevelt Elementary School, Norman, OK.
Donor representative, Charles S. Bullock III Foundation Fund, University of Georgia, 1998-
Habitat for Humanity Volunteer (August 1994-96)
Irish Channel Neighborhood Watch; block captain (June 1993-June 1995)
Riverside Homeowners Association (June 1993-June 1995)

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

University

Faculty Advisor, university chapter of the Oklahoma Intercollegiate Legislature, 2010-
Faculty Advisor, OU Bass Fishing Team (OU Anglers), 2007-2009
Faculty Advisory Board, The University of Oklahoma Press, 2007-present
University Athletics Council, University of Oklahoma, 2004-2006
 Council Vice-Chair, 2005-2006
 Chair, Committee on Gender Equity & Compliance, 2005-2006
Campus Faculty Appeals Committee, 2004-
Campus Tenure Committee, University of Oklahoma, 2003-2004, 2007-10 (chair, 2008-2010)
Campus Disciplinary Council, University of Oklahoma, 1997- 2003
Faculty Senate Committee on Committees, University of Oklahoma, 2003-2006
Campus Departmental Review Panel, Office of the Provost, University of Oklahoma, 2003-2004
Freshman Faculty Mentor, The University of Oklahoma, 1999-2000
"Adopt-a-faculty" program, Jones House/ Sooner Center, University of Oklahoma, 1997-1998
University Conflict of Interest Advisory Committee, University of Oklahoma, 1997-99, 2001-03

College

College of Arts and Sciences Academic Misconduct Board, 1998-2000, 2001-

Department/Unit

Committee 'A' (departmental executive committee), 2010-2012
Chair, Special Committee for Promotion and Tenure Criteria, 2008-2009
ICPSR Representative, July 2000-May 2002, January 2003-
Faculty advisor, University of Oklahoma Public Opinion Learning Laboratory, August 1999-July 2004
Graduate Studies Committee, Department of Political Science, University of Oklahoma 1997-
Chair, Graduate Placement Committee, Department of Political Science, 1997- 2002
Chair, Departmental Computerization Task Force, Department of Political Science, 1996-1997
Cortez A.M. Ewing Fellowship selection committee, Department of Political Science University of Oklahoma,
 1996-1997, 1998-1999, 1999-2000
Undergraduate Studies Committee, Department of Political Science, University of Oklahoma 1996-1997.
Writing Team Head, Savannah River Site Minority Risk Perception Project, Consortium for Environmental Risk
 Evaluation, February 1995-April 1996.
Faculty Liaison, Consortium for Environmental Risk Evaluation, Tulane University Medical Center, November

1994-June 1996.
Resident Graduate Assistant (Football), University of Georgia Athletic Department, 1989-1990
Tutor, Student Mentor, Georgia Athletic Association, University of Georgia, 1991-1992

CONSULTING

Strickland, Brockington and Lewis LLP, for the state of Georgia, July 2011-present
Lee Slater Law Office (Oklahoma City) for the Oklahoma State Senate, July 2011-present
Holtzman Vogel PLLC (Washington DC) for the Louisiana House of Representatives, April 2011-present
Mayer Brown & Associates (Chicago) for the Illinois Congressional Republicans, January 2011-present
Michael, Best & Friedrich LLP (Madison) for the Wisconsin General Assembly & Senate, April 2011-present
Gulf County, Florida, March-June 2011.
Schirrott, Luetkehans & Garner, P.C., for the Illinois Senate Republicans, June 2010-present
Tripp Scott Attorneys at Law, on behalf of the Florida Senate, July 2010-January 2011
Gray Robinson P.A. on behalf of the Florida House of Representatives, July 2010-January 2011
Lynn Tollitson Pinker Cox LLP, for plaintiffs in *Lepak et al. v. City of Irving, Texas*, June 2010-present.
Strickland, Brockington and Lewis LLP, for the state of Georgia, August 2007
Piscione & Nemarow, P.C., on behalf of Village of Port Chester, New York, December 2006-June 2007
Mountain States Legal Foundation, on behalf of Fremont County, Wyoming, October 2006- February 2007
L'Abbate, Balkan, Colavita & Contini LLP on behalf of Osceola County and the City of Kissimmee, November 2005-July 2006
Office of the Attorney General of Oklahoma (pro bono consultation), September 2005
The Blum-Thernstrom Project on Fair Representation, through the National Research Initiative at the American Enterprise Institute, July 2005-present
Gunderson, Palmer, Goodsell, & Nelson, LLP, for Charles Mix County, South Dakota, March 2005-present; for the City of Martin, SD, September 2003-July 2004
US Representative Ernest Istook, Oklahoma's 5th District, July 2004
Speaker Pro Tempore of the Georgia Senate and Georgia State Republican Party, September 2003-January 2004
Office of the Attorney General, State of Texas, June 2003-January 2004
Office of the Attorney General, the Commonwealth of Virginia, April 2002-August 2003
Kankakee County, Ill., County Commission, September 2002-December 2002
Bexar County (TX) Republican Party, June 2002-December 2002
Speaker, Oklahoma House of Representatives and President Pro Temp, Oklahoma Senate, February-June 2002
Wisconsin General Assembly and Senate Minority Caucus, January-May 2002
Office of Governor Gary Johnson, New Mexico, November 2001-January 2002
Texas Republican Congressional Delegation, July 2001-November 2001
Oklahoma Indigent Defense System, July 1999-October 1999
Mayor Marc Morial's Transition Task Force on the Environment, City of New Orleans, March-May 1994
The Atlanta *Journal-Constitution*, April 1992-December 1992 (Statistical consultant)
The Pardue for Congress Committee, April-July 1992 (Strategist/pollster) Democratic candidate for Georgia congressional district 10

Expert Testimony

Lepak et al. v. City of Irving, Texas, 3:10-cv-0277-P (Northern District of Texas), June 7 2010
U.S. v. Village of Port Chester, NY No. 06 Civ. 15173 (Southern District of New York). February 22, 2007
Large et. al v. Fremont County, Wyoming, No. 05-CV-270J (D.Wy.) February 8, 2007.
United States v. Osceola County, Florida, (6:05-cv-1053-ORL-3,1 United States Federal Court for the Middle District of Florida, June 22 2006).
Hearings of the US Senate Judiciary Committee, on the Renewal of the Section 5 Voting Rights Act, Washington,

DC, May 16 2006.

Hearings of the US House of Representatives Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on the Constitution, on the Renewal of the Section 5 Voting Rights Act, Washington, DC, October 25 2005.

Briefing of the US Commission on Civil Rights on the Renewal of the Voting Rights Act, Washington, DC, October 7 2005.

Larios v. Cox (1:03-CV-0693 United States Federal Court for the Northern District of Georgia, January 2004).

Sessions v. Perry (2:03-CV-354, United States Federal Court for the Eastern District of Texas, 2003, by deposition admitted as direct testimony, December 2003).

Public hearing of the Committee on Jurisprudence, Texas Senate, Austin Texas, July 24, 2003.

Armstrong v. Taylor et al., (State Court of Oklahoma for Oklahoma County, 2002)

Jensen & Panzer v. State Election Board (Case No. 01-C-121 United States Federal Court for the Eastern District of Wisconsin, 2002)

Michael Jepsen, et al., v. Rebecca Vigil-Jiron, et al. (CV-2001-2177, Second Judicial District Court, County of Bernalillo, State of New Mexico, 2001-2002, Congressional and State House phases)

Balderas, et al v. Perry et al. (6:01-CV-158, United States Federal District Court for the Eastern District of Texas, 2001)

Del Rio v. Perry (GN003665 353d Judicial Circuit of Texas, 2001)

REFERENCES

Charles S. Bullock, III
Department of Political Science
The University of Georgia
Athens, GA 30602
(706) 542-2946
(706) 769-9780
csbullock57@hotmail.com

Todd G. Shields
Dean of the Graduate College
The University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, AR 72701
479-575-6440
tshield@uark.edu

Kevin B. Grier
Department of Economics
University of Oklahoma
Norman, OK 73019
(405) 325-0311
angus@ou.edu

Greg Russell
Chair, Department of Political Science
University of Oklahoma
Norman, OK 73019
(405) 325-2061
grussell@ou.edu

Kelly R. Damphousse
Associate Dean
College of Arts and Sciences
University of Oklahoma
Norman, OK 73019
(405) 325-0311
kdamp@ou.edu

Ronald E. Weber
Department of Political Science
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Bolton Hall 640
Milwaukee, WI 53201
(414) 229-6642
rweber@uwm.edu